

AN EXCELLENT ARTICLE OUTLINING THE GREATER SIGNIFICANCE OF A SOLUTION TO THE CYPRUS QUESTION

HON. ROBERT E. ANDREWS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 2003

Mr. ANDREWS. Mr. Speaker, I rise before you today to bring to the attention of my colleagues an article that appeared in the National Review Online on January 14, 2003. This article, written by Nikolas K. Gvosdev, artfully details the greater significance of a solution to the division of Cyprus. I ask that my colleagues please review this article, and keep it in mind as we continue our efforts in the 108th Congress.

[From the National Review Online, Jan. 14, 2003]

CYPRUS, IRAQ, AND THE WAR ON TERRORISM
(By Nikolas K. Gvosdev)

At first glance, Cyprus would appear to have little connection to either the forthcoming clash with Iraq or the ongoing war against international terrorism. Yet, the fate of this divided Mediterranean isle is closely linked with both. British Defense Minister Geoff Hoon, visiting Turkey in an effort to enlist Ankara's full participation in any potential military action against Iraq, said on January 8th that it was critical to demonstrate to Baghdad that the international community was "not simply going to pass resolutions and not see them enforced" and that "we restore Iraq to the international community as a peaceful neighbor of Turkey, that we work together to ensure a peaceful outcome to the present difficulties." Both outcomes are far more likely if a U.N.-drafted peace plan for Cyprus is accepted as the basis for a final agreement that would end a longstanding source of instability and tension in the Eastern Mediterranean.

Much attention has been rightfully focused on the February 28th deadline for a settlement. If an agreement cannot be reached, only the portion of the island controlled by the internationally recognized Republic of Cyprus will be admitted, leaving the unrecognized "Turkish Republic of North Cyprus" outside of the common European home, and further impeding the eventual accession of the Turkish mainland into the EU.

But there are more immediate consequences. Carl Bildt, former U.N. Special Envoy for the Balkans, observed that a settlement for Cyprus "concerns not only a divided island in the eastern Mediterranean, or the relationship between two important countries straddling the divide between Europe and the Middle East. It is of key importance in the quest for peace and stability in the entire post-Ottoman area that stretches from Bihac in Bosnia in the north-west to Basra at the Persian Gulf in the south-east."

The peace plan put forward by Kofi Annan envisions a bi-zonal, bi-communal federation for the island. Admittedly, it is not a perfect solution, for it tries to balance between the competing and clashing claims to self-determination of Cyprus's Greek majority and Turkish minority. What it attempts to do is to provide a workable mechanism for two communities to live and co-exist in shared geographic space within the framework of the internationally recognized Cypriot state and under the rubric of a common Cypriot nationality that does not require ethnic homogenization. At the same time, it hopes to prevent the opening of a Pandora's box that

could plague the entire Eastern Mediterranean: revising state boundaries; a plague that many fervently hoped the 1975 Helsinki Final Act had banished from Europe once and for all.

Iraq faces many of the same issues that be-devil Cyprus. Its current solution has been to subordinate all regional and ethnic groups to the personal, dictatorial tyranny of Saddam Hussein. When his regime falls, however, something must take its place. Simply dividing Iraq into three "cantons" (a Shiite province in the south, a Sunni center, and a Kurdish statelet in the north) is a recipe for disaster. Not only does such a "solution" fail to consider that populations are not neatly segmented (Baghdad, after all, has a largely Shiite population) and ignore other ethnic minorities dispersed throughout the country, it would preclude any central "Iraqi" identity from developing. This, in turn, would increase the risk of regional strife that would draw in neighboring states. (I commend readers to Dan Byman's excellent essay on this subject.)

On the other hand, a functioning Cypriot bi-zonal, bi-communal federation could serve as a model for reconstructing postwar Iraq in a fashion that respects local autonomy yet permits freedom of movement and investment across Iraq, allows for the creation of a durable Iraqi "identity" and maintains a viable Iraqi state within its current boundaries.

Another reason for making a settlement on Cyprus an urgent priority is that it can produce momentum toward solving other lingering conflicts in the Balkans and the Caucasus that have produced "brown zones" (whether unrecognized statelets like Abkhazia or ill-defined international protectorates like Kosovo) where definitive state authority is lacking. Such "holes" in the international system help to facilitate the activities of terrorists, organized crime factions and drug smugglers. If a workable bicomunal, bi-zonal federation can be created for Cyprus, it could then serve as a model upon which solutions for ethno-separatist conflicts such as Nagorno-Karabakh or TransDniestria could be crafted. It might also help to redefine and strengthen currently weak states such as Bosnia, which endures largely because of the ongoing infusion of outside capital and troops to sustain the Dayton Accords. Crafting more viable states throughout the arc of Eurasia serves long-term American interests as well. After all, the best means for weakening international terrorist networks are effective governments that can police their borders and exercise supervision over their territories.

Cyprus is not simply a "European" problem. It requires continued American effort as well. It is not a "distraction" from the larger problems that beset the United States. Rather, Cyprus may provide a way to deal with larger headaches in the years ahead.

IN HONOR OF THE OPENING OF AN
EXHIBIT HONORING MARY
BAKER EDDY AT PACE UNIVERSITY

HON. JERROLD NADLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 2003

Mr. NADLER. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to commemorate the opening of an exhibit honoring Mary Baker Eddy at Pace University in downtown New York City. Today, Pace University will host a reception honoring "This is Woman's Hour . . .," a nationally acclaimed

exhibit that has traveled around the country educating Americans about the extraordinary life of Mary Baker Eddy, one of the 19th century's greatest women pioneers.

I am pleased to welcome this exhibit to my Congressional district. Mary Baker Eddy may not be as widely known as Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, but she was well known to them. As an author, religious leader, and health reformer, Mary Baker Eddy was one of the first American women to live the life envisioned by the leaders who gathered at Seneca Falls in 1848 for the First Woman's Rights Convention. Commenting on Eddy's success as a spiritual leader, Susan B. Anthony said, "for nineteen hundred years . . . man has been much occupied establishing faiths and formulating creeds for woman to follow When woman does write her creed, it will be one of right actions, not of theological theories." Eddy's major work, published in 1875, was honored over a hundred years later by the Women's National Book Association as "one of 75 books by women whose words have changed the world." In 1908, at the age of 87, Eddy founded The Christian Science Monitor, which is known today around the world for its commitment to excellence and journalistic integrity.

Mary Baker Eddy has been honored by the National Women's Hall of Fame and the National Foundation for Women Legislators, and the exhibit now open at Pace University has received the praise of leaders in every city and state it has visited. It is now my pleasure to welcome this exhibit to Manhattan. It is fitting that this exhibit opens just a few blocks away from where the World Trade Center once stood; as we come together to envision the kind of future we hope to create, in our city, our country, and around the world, it is wise to remember Mary Baker Eddy's words: "The right of woman to fill the highest measure of enlightened understanding and the highest places in government is inalienable . . . This is woman's hour."

RECOGNIZING THE ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF EVE W. PAUL

HON. NITA M. LOWEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 28, 2003

Mrs. LOWEY. Mr. Speaker, I rise today to recognize Eve W. Paul, vice president and general counsel of Planned Parenthood Federation of America. Ms. Paul is retiring after 25 years of distinguished service to that indispensable and life-enhancing organization.

In her long career as an attorney, Ms. Paul has devoted herself to women's rights. She was on the board of the Stamford (Connecticut) League of Women Voters, and she was director and general counsel of the Connecticut Women's Bank.

Before coming to Planned Parenthood Federation, Ms. Paul served as a staff attorney with the Legal Aid Society, in its Family Court Branch, a post that reflected her life-long commitment to the welfare of women and children.

While serving Planned Parenthood, Ms. Paul headed the Legal Analysis Project. In that capacity she prepared a study of U.S. laws on family planning. She also has written extensively on reproductive health care issues,